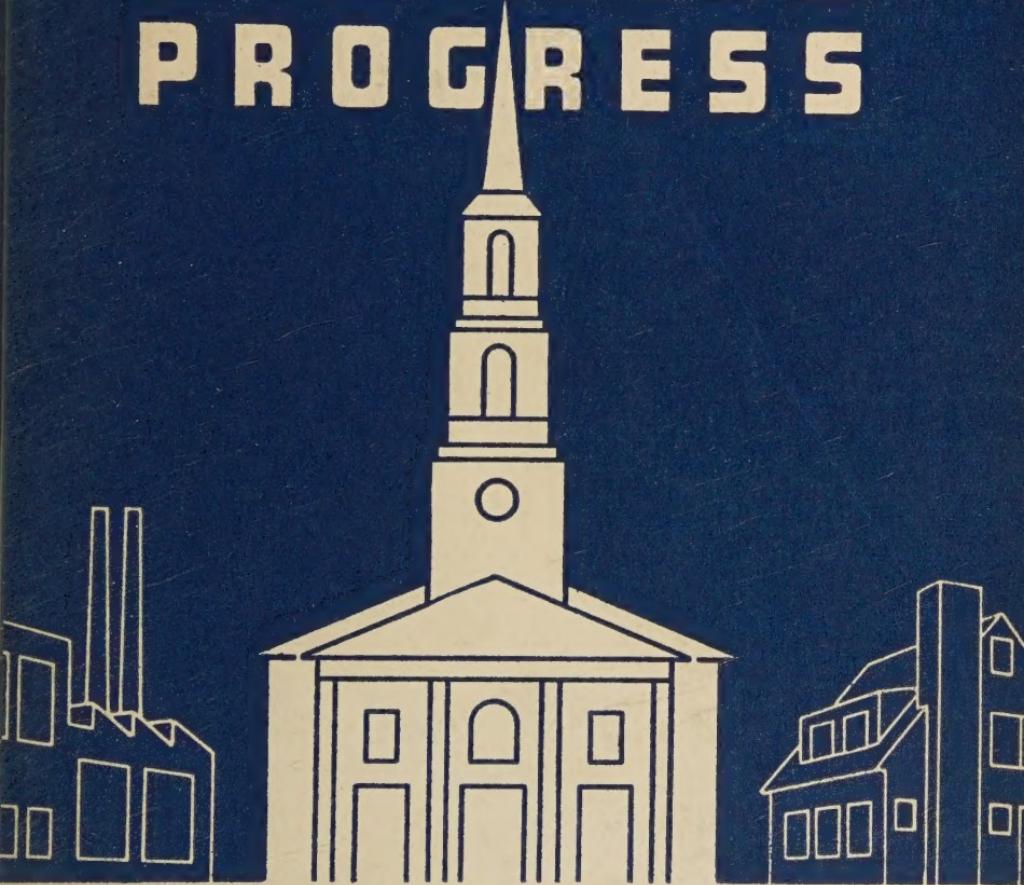


SOCIAL PROGRESS



The Common Perils of Democracies
The Social Law and the Religious Parent
A New Dry Strategy

OCTOBER 1939

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SOCIAL PROGRESS

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No. 3

The Common Perils of Democracies

By Earl Baldwin of Bewdley*

THERE is one thing our peoples—yours and mine—have in common: freedom in the air we breathe, freedom is in our blood and bones: the independence of the human spirit. But the vast majority of our peoples have forgotten that this freedom was bought with a great price; that it was obtained by the struggles of generations of those who went before us, by mental wrestlings, by endurance of persecution, by successive failures and triumphs.

No student of history can have any doubt but that democracy is far the most difficult form of government that has ever existed. The success of a democracy depends upon every one realizing his or her responsibility to it; thinking of his duties and forgetting for a time his rights. If he recognizes no duties toward the form of government to which he is ready

enough to pay lip service and to shout for, the day may come when he will lose his rights by dangers from without or within.

That calls for education and character; education in problems domestic and foreign so as to have material wherewith to form a judgment, and character to concentrate on the essential and to look beyond the immediate effect of particular action on the fortunes of a favorite politician.

A democrat should work for and be prepared to die for his democratic ideals, as the Nazis and the Communists are for theirs. And he will never work for it, much less die for it, unless he is convinced that democracy is capable of making a country worthy of his ideals. Believing this I would always stress the spiritual rather than the political foundations of democracy; a recognition of the dignity of man and his individuality—his as a child of God. Differ-

* Condensed from an address delivered before the Congress on Education for Democracy, in New York, August 17, 1939.

ences and honest differences as to how that end is to be accomplished there will be, but with the common purpose there should be a deep national unity—that is, a unity of divine purpose, springing from the people themselves, not imposed, and therefore in time of strain infinitely more binding.

Now I spoke a few minutes ago of the perils that face democracy from without and within. These perils are real; they are at our doors. Ideas are on the wing. I need not tell you that such ideas are those of Bolshevism and those propagated by the Nazis and Fascists. No one can foresee what effect they may have on the future of the world; how far they may spread; what their ultimate form may be. But of one thing be clear, they cannot exist within the same boundaries as what you and I understand as democracy. In totalitarian practice the attainment of what is good is achieved by paying a price we cannot pay. The triumph of these ideas is bought by the suppression of the liberty of the individual human soul, the very life and spirit of the ideas upon which our conception of democracy is based.

The Bolsheviks, whose original leaders were men of great though narrow intellectual power saw clearly that the greatest obstacle to the enslaving of the human will was the Christian faith, and made that faith the object of bitterest attack from the first. Only by the

elimination of a power which in the human heart they knew to be greater than their own could they create a generation malleable to their influence.

Now these things may seem far from us. But he would be a bold man who would say that they are not perils without, which may become perils within. Whether this happens depends on ourselves.

Even before the war certain ideas well known in Communist propaganda were spreading in England. It was believed by many that force could win what arguments would fail to do, and the industrial workers began to experiment with the big strike. But before these things had gone far the Great War broke out, and for four years we were fighting as one man for our lives.

When, with the advent of full manhood suffrage, we began to pick up the threads of our old life, I knew that we were in a new world, and my wonder was whether we could advance by orderly progression. The spirit in the country was bitter, and the strain of these four years had left its mark on all the country's leaders, politicians and trade union leaders alike.

We had to pass through a period of very grave industrial unrest which culminated in the now historic general strike. It was inevitable, and I think nothing was more typical of our people than the reaction when the danger was past. The people as

a whole realized that any general strike is a challenge to their own freely elected government, and their political sense showed them where that might lead them and the industrial world, both sides—employers and employed—realized that they had stood for a moment on the brink of an abyss, and at the bottom of that abyss was anarchy. And they didn't like it. . . .

But what of danger from the extreme Right? That is different in its origin and in its appeal. Dictatorship of the Right, in Italy and Germany, has been the aftermath of communism. But there might be a danger in a democratic country in which there is large-scale unemployment. Men look abroad; they are told there has been such unemployment in Germany, but that since the Nazis came into power it has disappeared. If such a state of things arises, hoist the danger signal. You have a mass of men ripe to listen to anyone or anything. You have to answer the question, "Is democracy as sufficient as fascism?" and the answer depends upon the leaders of the people and on the people themselves.

In the choir of that great Norman church, Tewkesbury Abbey, is a small flagstone on which is cut an inscription in Latin in seven words to Gilbert de Clare, one of the barons who signed Magna Charta. I translate those words for you: "Magna

Charta is the Law; henceforward let the King look out." . . . There is an epitome of English history. England has never tolerated dictatorship.

James Bryce, our one-time Ambassador to Washington, quotes in his great work from Judge Cooley. "America," says the judge, "is not so much an example in her liberty as in the covenanted and enduring securities which are intended to prevent liberty degenerating into license, and to establish a feeling of trust and repose under a beneficent government, whose excellence, so obvious in its freedom, is still more conspicuous in its careful provision for performance and stability."

I could not find two more apt quotations to illustrate what I want to say.

So far, the political instinct of the British people has enabled us to pass through many troublous times in the last 150 years, without open violence and with our constitution intact.

You, too, have had your domestic problems, in some ways more difficult than ours. You educators have it in your power, by your example, to lead your people, to inspire them to work for the ideals that have animated the greatest Americans through the generations of your history: Courage and Faith, Love and Wisdom, those are what we all need. May God give us a right judgment in all things.

The Social Law and the Religious Parent

*By Regina Westcott Wieman**

SOMETHING is wrong with the family of a heavy-faced child. We should write this down in our annals. This insight came to me after weeks of pondering upon a remark my son made when he was ten years of age. Because my parental responsibility included the full support of the family as well as the functions of a mother, I was taking my parenthood seriously. I was a conscientious mother, trying to develop "a good home." There was no feeling of sacrifice in it, for of course I loved my children. But I was so, so, so serious about it all. I was doing my duty, and all my duty, as I saw it.

On the day my older child made the remark which was a turning point in my parenthood, I had been gently but firmly presenting to him a plan I had worked out for the coming week, and, guided by his questions and comments, helping him to see the significance of it for him and for our family. When we were through the discussion, he indicated his approval, but during the whole conversation, the joy and light so characteristic of his countenance had gone out. He was sober, sub-

dued, sodden. We sat in silence for a few minutes. Then he looked up into my face and said, "Mother, I wish you wouldn't, just for one whole week, do anything for our good."

This remark struck at what I thought was my strength. Space does not allow a report of my stumbling progress during the next weeks in thinking this through. In the end, I saw it. The trouble traced right back to the place where misbehavior is always traced—to an adult, and the adult was I. I had introduced my children to the disciplines of life well enough, but not sufficiently to the realization of the greater values which are attained by these. I was a moral mother, not a religious one, for they were conscious of the constraints, and not of the freedom, of the good life. For the love of me, they were doing a pretty good job of fitting into the mold of a moral life, sensing that it was all intended for their good. There had been no revolt or resentment, but this disturbing remark was a signal that there would come soon some sort of effort to escape, to be free to taste the riches and thrill of life.

When children break away from such an unbalanced situation, it is license and not freedom which they

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attain. Examples of this are all too numerous these days.

The moral life in contrast with the religious life is one of meeting obligations felt to be justified. It is a life of struggle, of unnumbered temptations, of disturbing conflicts that often persist long enough to arouse a sense of guilt or a conviction of weakness. It is life where one part of the self tends to become dissociated from the rest of the self, and set itself up as a censor. In this case, the individual is trying to outwit himself, and there's the mischief to pay. He is not integrated. He is not whole. He is never free, whether he obeys his conscience or not. This is true because his ought-to-do pulls one way, and his want-to-do pulls another.

The inner conflicts of the moral life have a certain grim quality which arouses some doubt in youth, and quite rightly. They know, and we all know, that we cannot relinquish the values of the moral life unless we have something better as a way of group living. But we feel the inadequacy of the moral life sufficiently to be on the alert for a way to more adequate living. The early Freudian doctrines emphasized this repressive effect, but the solution proposed in those early days involved more of license than of true freedom.

The religious way of life is one of spontaneous enthusiasm. It is the way of whole-hearted devotion to

what one feels is worthy of his dominant loyalty. Once convinced that a certain course of action is in line with his devotion to God, the individual follows it because it is what he wants to do most of all. He is not obliged to, nor is he conscious that he is doing his duty. He is filled with zest to be about it. This does not imply that there are no hardships nor sorrows nor inner conflicts in the religious way of living. Indeed, there are many. But if the individual is truly religious, his struggles, griefs, and conflicts are of a different nature. They do not split him in two, making him a dual self. He has the freedom of an integrated personality, to the extent that he is wholly given to God, for whole-hearted religious commitment is a never-ended progressive achieving.

The religious way does not negate the moral way but it surpasses it. Because the values of life lived through love in faith and in truth are greater than the values of the life lived through law, the religious way of living holds freedom beyond the constraints of the law, glory even in infirmities and suffering, and the enthusiasm of voluntary commitment. Numerous passages in the Bible show this contrast in the relation of the moral and religious life: "The law is not for a righteous man." "Except your righteousness shall exceed the righteousness of the scribes and Pharisees. . ." Now the Lord is the Spirit; and where the Spirit

of the Lord is, there is liberty. But we all . . . are transformed into the same image from glory to glory."

What are the practical implications of this for the modern family? What is involved in the challenge that the righteousness of Christian parents shall exceed the righteousness of the social law? What can the Christian family do to decrease crime—the breaking of the social law—and so make corrective law-making and law-enforcement increasingly unnecessary?

In a word, parents must provide such conditions for growth that all little children get deep tastes of the greater values which come when they devote themselves to what is most worth while. At first, their dominant loyalties will be given to quite concrete, immediate objects, but their loyalties must be guided from "glory to glory" until they learn through their own experiences that God deserves their first loyalty; because he is the source of all value.

Talking about this to the children, depending upon precepts, Golden Texts and family prayers are inadequate in accomplishing this. Then how is it to be done? The one indispensable way is the providing of a devoted Christian family-community in which the child lives and observes, asks questions when he is ready, and finally when he is sufficiently mature, interacts as a full member of this devoted community. The development of this community

must be the main objective, for it is the family-community which does the work that must be done in guiding the child, first to respect, and then to transcend the social law, because he has experienced values which living in this way produces.

When he lives as a participant in a devoted community, these are some of the things he observes: his parents denying themselves of things they are accustomed to for the sake of something they believe is of greater value, and doing it without turbulence of spirit; the facing of change and of accompanying problems as opportunities for a transformation of the situation into a way of living even more true to the object of their loyalty; a resilience in times of stress that fends off all sense of impending doom; a high degree of sensitivity and responsiveness to all that is lovely, of good report, true and otherwise worthy; a quality in the friendships and neighborships of the parents which builds a larger, warm community about the family; a reliance of the parents upon an authority higher than their own in important family matters; a sensitive regard for law and for tested standards as helpful instruments of living; an openness to all the possibilities which hold promise of fostering more abundant living; and a joy and zest in life generated in the parents by their vivid realization of the greatness of what they are living for.

A New Dry Strategy

*By William K. Anderson**

THE well informed business man must have his charts. The industrial index keeps him up to date regarding the commercial activity and health of the nation. It would not be difficult to give graphic representation to America's conscience regarding alcoholic beverages during the last three decades. If we arbitrarily take the sentiment of 1910 as the main axis of such a graph, we first see a gradual rise in public conscience as local option gained steadily in towns and counties all over the country, and as parts of the South enacted state-wide legislation. About the middle teens comes a rapid rise, as state prohibition spread north, and the proposal of national action began to come into the picture. The upward line continues without interruption through wartime aridity and on to its peak in 1920 when the country became constitutionally dry with little dissenting voice. Public conscience against liquor then levels off, and waveringly declines for ten years, under the pressure of the red-nosed reformers. With the discovery about 1931 that "liquor will cure the depression," the line plunges like the industrial index, down to the 1910 norm and far below, as nearly all

liquor laws went on the block. Now there is a decided recovery. The recession of 1937 which busy breweries and diligent distilleries did not prevent, played its part along with other influences which are gradually bringing American people back to their senses.

Dry sentiment is being enacted into laws here and there. Kansas, Oklahoma, Georgia, Mississippi, and Tennessee are dry, except for beer; large sections of Kentucky, Maine, Ohio, and North Carolina have voted out liquor; Pennsylvania is reported now to have more dry territory than at any time in its history, except during national prohibition.

The effects of the advertising campaign which aimed to persuade Americans that "it is smart to drink" are still with us, and drinking has been far more widespread among the middle classes in recent years than at any other time during this century. But no amount of maneuvering by the repealists who made such sweeping promises in 1932 has been able to translate their glib expectations into reality. The church, which has been lying low in temperance matters, is again becoming vocal.

In the midst of such reawakening, common sense demands that we

*This article is condensed with permission from *Christian Century*, April 19, 1939.

utilize experience to avoid the repetition of errors. Frankness on the part of drys compels the admission that national prohibition proved a tragic disappointment. There were striking benefits to the whole nation while it lasted. Statistics regarding death, disease and accidents make the benefits of those years clear to all except the blind. But in its end results national prohibition has actually tended to defeat the very cause whose advancement it sought.

When prohibition was a matter of local option, enacted by the community, it worked. When it became county and state-wide, it still worked. It was supported then by the votes of the people in the political units where it prevailed, and therefore had a firm backing in public opinion. Further, it could be repealed at any time if it ceased to represent majority sentiment.

Until the adoption of national prohibition the cause made rapid progress as state after state voted it by popular majorities. With national action came a jump from thirty-six states dry by their own vote (and some of these, like Ohio and Michigan, had carried it too recently for their action to be assured of permanence) to forty-eight states, dry by the votes of Congress and legislature. The great cities in states like New York, Pennsylvania, Illinois, Massachusetts, New Jersey, Wisconsin, thus had prohibition forced on them, instead of having adopted it.

Prohibition was thus put through the impossible ordeal of having its primary test applied in those centers of population which definitely did not want it, and the inevitable result has followed. We need to learn by past experience that no amount of legislative preponderance can substitute for a public election in an issue like this, for in a democracy, legislation which jumps ahead of popular sentiment is self-defeating; second, that the enlargement of prohibition territory to take in communities which are not voluntarily dry is always fraught with danger, and requires a high degree of popular support to make the legislation effective; third, that any successful prohibition law must be flexible—that is, its possible repeal through waning public support, while an apparent weakness, is in the long run an added point of strength.

Conviction, then, is the only basis upon which we can expect legal prohibition to operate successfully in any unit of government. Experience has shown that the temperance advocate who tries to put over prohibition prematurely, no matter how worthy his purpose, is not helping his cause.

Wherever the American public is indifferent to the evils of beverage alcohol, legislation must wait. The first thing necessary is to arouse a now largely dormant public opinion. The brewers of the nation were warned a year ago by a prominent

government official that they could not, with impunity, continue to carry into people's homes, as a rider to a good radio program, the false statement that beer is not intoxicating. They paid little heed to the warning and now the National Broadcasting Company has definitely banned their advertisements from the air. The traffic's brainlessness which this illustrates is one strand of the rope by which it will ultimately be hanged on the gibbet of public opinion. The slave on the block for Lincoln! The drunk on the street for many a new voter! Youth's idealism may be counted upon to respond sanely to the increased evils of the present and future.

Left alone the liquor business will ultimately defeat itself. But the church can never be content to let tragedy be the sole teacher of the

nation. The church is beginning again its instruction on the physical, mental, and social destructiveness of alcohol. These efforts will not bear immediate legislative fruit, but they will save thousands from personal tragedy and will, in due time, have their wider influence.

Seeing the evils of license, churchmen naturally bewail them and think of the short-cut of legislative action as their cure. But it cannot be done that way. Legislation in this case must wait upon popular conviction. After all, we live in a democratic country and may thank God for that. Reform must be diligent, aggressive and courageous. It must also have faith in the sound moral sense of the American people and confidence that they will react away from inebriety with disgust when they finally see liquor in its true light.

Government and Character

*By David Lawrence**

AS A people, we are inclined to condone the irresponsibility of our elected leaders. We make excuses for them. We attribute to "politics" a certain understandable, if not logical, code of so-called legitimate maneuvers.

One wonders what would happen in the world if America through her national legislative body and through her executive agencies of government and her judiciary were suddenly to hold aloft the banner of truth, if individuals really dedicated themselves to the service of their fellow men. Just because it is seemingly unattainable is the very reason for seeking to establish a return to principles of honesty inside and outside of government.

Can men in public office renounce overweening ambition? Can they learn the meaning of sacrifice even if that which is sacrificed is a strong ego or personal pride? The transformation will not be easy. Self-interest runs strong in the human breast. But individuals have been known to overcome the ego within them. They have conquered their sense of pride before. It is not a new challenge.

* Editor and publisher of the *United States News*, Washington, D. C., Extracts from the editorial page, July 3, 1939. Used with permission.

To what leadership then shall these individuals surrender their pride and their ego? Where is the leadership among men which shall inspire this resurgence of character? There is only one unfailing leadership to which men have repaired in the time of travail and only one to which they can bow today. It has been recognized through all ages. If we believe in God, we must be ready to accept his leadership whether it be in the Congress or in the White House or in the courts or in business or the professions or in the factories of our land.

Men wonder when they hear a plea for surrender to God's leadership. They speak as if it were some extreme mysticism being introduced. But we need not look merely to the sermons Sunday morning, to the pulpits or to the pews, or to the printed words of yesterday to find God. We can find him within ourselves. Whether we regard conscience or character as a synonym for the Divine Spirit, the fact remains that life is governed by a greater power than any government or king or president can attain.

The sooner we permit ourselves to obey that leadership the more secure we will make the foundations of democracy.

The Rural Church Acts

*By G. Shubert Frye**

MILK prices were down to a new all-time low. A federal district court had banned the metropolitan marketing agreement. New York state milk producers were at their wit's end and ready for strong action. By the thousands farmers drove into town for "milk meetings" many of them urging strike, but their leaders counselled patience. Then came the news of the Supreme Court decision reversing the order of the lower court, an action which promised to clear the way for the operation of the cooperative marketing plan.

The ministers and laymen in these milk areas were perplexed and concerned because of the unhappy effects of the situation on the entire life of the community. It was clear to them that the problem was much broader than the single question of the legality of the marketing control agreement, and they knew that its many issues were not to be settled by a court decision alone. Consequently, a few liberal spirits proposed a conference to study the wide and serious implications of the conflict. Agricultural economists from the State College were called in with

leaders of producers' and consumers' cooperatives and representatives of commercial dealers. They reviewed the situation that had precipitated the order of the federal district court and discussed such related questions as what happens to the consumer's dollar, what is happening to the farm family, how the milk problem is to be solved, and why the church is interested in justice for the farmer anyway.

These appeared to be the facts: Briefly and simply stated, the marketing control agreement of producers who sell milk into the metropolitan area is a plan developed originally by farmer cooperatives whereby a classified price scale is used to aid in the control of surplus milk. All fluid milk (milk reaching the consumer in fluid form) which conforms to a certain standard is sold at a uniform price, and the surplus is controlled by cooperative effort for the manufacture of by-products such as butter, cheese, canned milk, ice cream, et cetera. The varied proceeds from these by-products are pro-rated and returned to the farmers on the basis of their original milk shipments. Approval of the plan was given by more than three-fourths of the producers and by an order of the federal and state

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governments to enforce the democratic agreement of the majority. This agreement the district court declared unconstitutional, its decision being later reversed by the Supreme Court.

A summary of the group discussion revealed that the conference group seemed to be almost unanimous in accepting the principle of government enforcement of marketing agreements as democratic and Christian. Many believed that the method is basic to the agricultural problem as a whole and can be applied in other milk sheds and in time to other farm products. There was fairly clear agreement that the farmer needs to be organized into producer cooperatives and that the consumer, too, can best meet his problems through the cooperative method. A dominant note in the minds of many as the discussion concluded was that the milk question is but a part of the whole economic problem of the farmer and cannot

be solved apart from it. The conviction that anything so intimately affecting the lives of the people in that farm community must be the vital concern of the church was inescapable, but just what obligation for action it laid upon the church was not so evident.

It does seem clear that in a situation such as this, the role of the church is not in the field of *direct* action for it lacks both the proper knowledge and machinery to deal with it adequately.

The task of the church while no less active lies much deeper; deals with less tangible matters: it is to proclaim the Christian motives of justice and love; to promote understanding between rival groups; to interpret the issues without prejudice as far as it can. In other words, the church true to its calling must hold aloft the light and see that the bushel measures of greed and propaganda are not clamped down over it.

I conceive it to be one of the needs of the hour to restore the processes of common counsel. We must learn, we freemen, to meet as our fathers did, somehow, somewhere, for consultation. There must be discussion in which all freely participate. The whole purpose of democracy is that we may hold counsel with one another, so as not to depend upon the understanding of one man, but to depend upon the counsel of all.
—Woodrow Wilson.

Propaganda or Fact?

*By Edwin Daniels**

PROPAGANDA is the fine art of coloring the truth; of "cutting the cloth to fit the pattern"; of influencing others. It arises in any place or at any time when individuals are desirous of getting the eye, ear, mind, or heart of their fellow men. Its function is to convince, instruct, command, cajole, or implore others on behalf of a cause. It is not a science in any accepted sense of the term, although a science is beginning to emerge in this day of quick communication, of rapid dispensing of information via radio, screen, press, and the like, in a day of desperate alternatives and confused motives. It is a neoscience that is discovering that certain of its techniques work, and others do not, and evidences of it are to be encountered in news-reels and newspapers, in party platforms and programs, in the theatre, in religious, fraternal, patriotic, and business organizations, in literature, in the "funnies," on the radio, in education.

Propaganda may be characterized in three ways:

Propaganda is largely at the mercy of circumstances. The *zeitgeist*, the spirit of the times, dictates much of its success or failure. The ripening

of the forces of despair and depression, coming on Germany eight years before it struck America, made fallow the ground for the determined propagandistic onslaughts of the German National Socialist Party. What amounted to a *weltsmerz*, a world sorrow, among the German people, was capitalized to the *n*th degree. The need for a national resurgence of spirit was echoed and reechoed until it was thoroughly convincing.

To go back to history, there were in the bosom of the early Catholic Church critics enough and to spare—St. Bernard and St. Bonaventura, for example—who pointed with all the indignation they could command, at the monastic abuses and indulgences which were so desperately in need of correction, but to no avail. It needed the *zeitgeist*, the spirit of the age, bursting forth in the Reformation, to produce the counter-reformation by which the Catholic Church sought to purify itself.

Contrariwise, when we come to the age of the Enlightenment, the bitter adder's-venom of a Voltaire against the abuses of the clergy and the nobility, found its fruition in the French Revolution. This time the *zeitgeist* was right; the age was "ripe, rotten ripe for change."

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Political, social, or even religious propaganda is effective, only upon those who are already partly convinced of its truth.

Consider two modern examples from literature, namely, Remarque's "All Quiet on the Western Front" and H. G. Wells' "Outline of History." The work of Eriku Remarque had, as propaganda, a very telling effect. But it lasted, and the moral it preached lasted only as long as a post-war disgust lasted. So with H. G. Wells' compendium. Within its pages may be found, as nowhere else, a complete and impassioned exposition of the principle of internationalism. But again, it lasted only as long as the post-war prosperity, which it capitalized, lasted. The bitter, frustrated sense of millions of people was driving them into the religion of nationalism. They sought an immediate realization of an ideal and it made them willing to forego the distant scene for the more readily realizable green pastures near at hand.

Propaganda, effective on those partly or entirely convinced of its truth, becomes, in other words, a rationalization of the desires, sentiments, prejudices, or interests of those to whom it is addressed. It is an instrument for helping people do things in cold blood, which without it, they could only do in the heat of passion. It is not so much a *modus vivendi* as it is a *modus operandi*. Great emphasis is laid on the sus-

ceptibility of the mass-mind, and it is in this direction that C. E. M. Joad points when he speaks of "the crime of psychological assault."

Propaganda is colored by the circumstances in which it arises when regarded in the light of the dialectic character of history and propaganda is doomed to partial success and final failure because propagandists have no way of determining the course of the "unpredictable probable" in history. Repeated examples of propaganda, having gained a measure of success, becoming static or over-confident and thereby sounding its own death knell may be shown. Perhaps the clearest modern example of this is the rumored change in the attitude of the German people to propagandistic moves on the part of their government since the beginning of the present hostilities. There, with propaganda techniques as well developed as anywhere in the world, the people responded wholeheartedly to slogans and promises, but promised goods have not materialized; rationalistic emphasis has been over-played, and the people are restless.

Unquestionably, it is difficult at times to mark the thin line between propaganda and truth, our own desires and wishes in the matter so coloring our views. However, the following may suggest an approach:

Examine your own desires. No clearer example of the tendency to

fall in line with what we want to believe can be found than the widespread favor with which the utterances of President Roosevelt, Dorothy Thompson, Walter Lippmann, and David Lawrence, in regard to the essential oneness of Christianity and democracy, were received by many of the clergy. What they failed to observe was their own need of preserving some measure of militant objectivity toward the word: "He that saveth his own life shall lose it."

Consider the source of propaganda. You would not expect to find, nor do you find, in "The Daily Worker" the most impartial view of labor in the present economy, or in the "National Republic" (not the "New Republic") a true view of Socialism. In Russia, it is a commonplace that in the "Isvestia" (News), you find no news, and "Mein Kampf" is neither a true view of German needs nor a fair appraisal of German aims.

Modern propagandists, Aldous Huxley tells us, proceed along two lines: "*suppressio veri*," the more common form, altogether apparent in countries where the press and radio are controlled; and "*suggestio falsi*" as for example, the prior penetration of such countries as Austria, Czecho-Slovakia, and now Danzig and Poland.

Give it the judgment of history. We will, if we are wise, ask ourselves in all honesty what, in common parlance, we "fell for" during the first

world war, and so guard ourselves against a too easy conquest by the propaganda barrage now being launched by all the nations now at war. The judgment of history, and a few cold facts, should do much to set propaganda in its proper place.

Lastly, and more generally, *examine the desires, sentiments, prejudices and interests of those who promote propaganda and those to whom it is addressed.* As the honey which attracts the fly, so prejudices, racial, cultural, and national, offer hospitable breeding-grounds for propaganda. Like a boomerang, our obvious outrage against injustices to China have made us feel anger against the Japanese (though not to the extent of stopping shipment of materials of war to them) and the strangest corollary of the oppression of the Jews in Germany and elsewhere in our time has been, not a deepening sympathy for them, but a more vigorous expression of our felt prejudices here.

What are the hopeful signs in dealing with propaganda? Shall we not agree that truth has a self-righting quality; falsity an inherent self-defeating quality which ultimately tells against those who spread it? The best of all possible safeguards against the power of propaganda is to speak the truth in love as it reveals itself, assured that what is worthwhile will endure; the rest, in the mercy of God, will be measured by His measuring.

Where Cross the

At a recent meeting, the Supervisory Committee on Social Education and Action passed the following resolution on the resignation of Dr. Charles J. Turck, editor of SOCIAL PROGRESS, an action in which the Board of Christian Education at its subsequent meeting concurred:

While the members of the Committee on Social Education and Action rejoice because of the great opportunity which has come to Dr. Charles J. Turck, in his election as president of Macalester College, they cannot refrain from expressing their sincere regret at his leaving. His going is a distinct loss to the committee.

As director of the Committee on Social Education and Action, Dr. Turck endeared himself to its members through his fine gifts for friendship as well as his unfailing sense of fairness as an arbiter of debated issues. He made himself invaluable to the committee, and to the church-at-large by his deep understanding of the great social and moral issues confronting the church and his courageous voicing of the conscience of the church regarding these issues. His passion for social justice and his conviction that the church is duty bound to implement this passion by pronouncement and action will always inspire us. His unsparing giving of his time and energy to the promotion of our task merits our gratitude. He has indeed dignified the labors of this committee. He has brought honor to the Board of Christian Education in all his service as a member of the staff. We speak for the entire Board in expressing our gratitude to Dr. Turck for his work with us and our delight in his new responsibility and honor.

Churches and War In a nation-wide broadcast on September 8, 1939, Dr. George A. Buttrick, president of the Federal Council of Churches expressed what he felt to be "the mind of good will of the American churches as they face a world in conflict." Speaking not the official word of the Federal Council but his own, Dr. Buttrick said: The duty of our Protestant Churches in this tragic time is not far to seek. We now try to trace it in plain terms.

First, we shall do well to keep unbroken our world-wide Christian fellowship. War's hatreds must not sever the bonds by which Christians everywhere are bound to one another and to God.

Second, American Protestantism must lead the nation to repent, forbear, forgive, and in every word and work of reconciliation. The command of

Led Ways of Life

Christ still holds that we should "love one another." This does not mean ever that we should condone evil, but rather that we should renounce evil.

Third, American Protestantism must enter into the fellowship of suffering with the millions on both sides of every battle-line. We should abhor profiteering, especially profiteering in arms and blood, and hold any government renegade that does not try effectively to curb it. Instead we should seek to lighten the world's tragic burden.

Fourth, our American Protestantism will do well to strengthen our Government's purpose to keep us out of war. But our motives must be clear. We must be neutral from high and costly motives: not for physical safety, not in the attempt to maintain an impossible isolation from world problems, assuredly not for commercial gain, but rather because we know war is futile and because we are eager through reconciliation to build a kindlier world.

Fifth, we can pray. True prayer is not a last resort. It is not an escape. It is not a plea for security. It is a beseeching that God's compassionate will may be done among men. It is a spiritual force stronger than all armies. It is a healing serum injected into the one body of mankind of which all nations are members and of which Christ is the head.

Peace Action Recognizing the imperative necessity of a clearly defined program in the face of the world crisis, the National Peace Conference recommends to its national member organizations and local peace councils the following six point program as the basis for immediate education and action:

1. Keep the United States out of war.
2. Initiate continuous conference of neutral nations to procure a just peace.
3. Work for permanent world government as the basis of peace and security.
4. Prevent exploitation of war for private gain.
5. Recognize and analyze propaganda to prevent warped judgments and unjust animosities.
6. Strengthen American democracy through solving pressing domestic problems and vigorously safeguarding civil liberties.

Such education and action will implement the words of President Roose-

velt when, in his nation-wide broadcast of September 3, he declared, "I hope the United States will keep out of this war. I believe that it will. And I give you assurances that every effort of your Government will be directed toward that end." And further, "And it seems to me clear, even at the outbreak of this great war, that the influence of America should be consistent in seeking for humanity a final peace which will eliminate, as far as it is possible to do so, the continued use of force between nations."

Christian Youth and War

The United Christian Youth Movement has issued an appeal to Christian youth to make use of Armistice Day, November 11, 1939, as an occasion for a national demonstration of Christian youth's loyalty to peace. The appeal reads:

Demonstrate against war! The world is resounding today to the clang of arms and the clash of swords. Nations are seeking security through armies and navies, but are finding only death and destruction. Meanwhile the Prince of Peace cries out across the ages, "They that take the sword shall perish with the sword."

Christ's call to love, to brotherhood, to forgiveness, is a challenge to us who profess to follow him. On this Armistice Day in the year of our Lord, 1939, let us organize united demonstrations so that all may know our unfailing devotion to his cause and to his way.

Here are some things we can do now: sacrifice for peace; speak for peace; build for peace.

Christian Youth: We see the task. We have the strength. It is our God-given responsibility to make a living witness for Christ in this grave hour.

Nazis About Face

An Associated Press news item under a Berlin date line bears testimony to the growing unrest in Germany and the attempt of the government to find and correct the causes even at the cost of a reversal of policy. Most striking perhaps is the statement credited to the Protestant Synod that anti-church agitation in Germany has ceased and that church authorities are striving to eliminate it completely for the sake of national unity. Politics in sermons are now excluded, it is said, and in an attempt to convince the membership of the churches of the divine sanction of the "Holy War" most sermons are built on the theme of war as the "punishment of God for falling away from Christ." Retired pastors are replacing their younger brethren in the churches, and it is estimated that 42 per cent of the ministers may be called to the service.

News Briefs

NEW YORK—Reports have been received of the meeting of the Board of International Strategy which convened in July in central Europe by the provisional committee of the World Council of Churches, upon the initiation of the Federal Council's Department of International Justice and Goodwill. The conference brought together 35 Christian leaders, among them laymen who hold or have held official responsibilities in connection with many international conferences and communions as well as government economics commissions and tariff and foreign trade boards.

"Brotherly relations between the Churches must be maintained," says the memorandum, in spite of "pressure of censorship, of official propaganda, and of the whole system of psychological mobilization." Even in war preaching should not be allowed to "create hatred of other nations," and prayer ought not to "degenerate into a means of national propaganda." The report asserts also: "It is the duty of the churches to disentangle patriotism and religion. . . . God alone is absolute, and he only has a claim to our unconditional loyalty."

NEW YORK—It would have been impossible for Japan to make ruthless war on China during the past two years, and it would be impossible for her to go on making it today if it were not for the supplies of essential war materials which Japan, unable to produce at home, is able to import from other countries. We ourselves have furnished a large part of those supplies. Data compiled from Government sources by the Chinese Council for Economic Research shows that Japan drew from us last year the following percentages of her imports of essential war materials: scrap iron and steel 90.39 per cent; petroleum and products 65.57 per cent; ferro-

alloys 82.71 per cent; copper 90.89 per cent; lead 45.52 per cent; automobiles and parts 64.67 per cent; aircraft and parts 76.92 per cent.

CHICAGO—According to a survey now being conducted by the American Business Men's Research Foundation at Chicago, deserving beneficiaries in the United States are being deprived of more than \$200,000,000 in life insurance protection annually because of liquor. This figure is based upon the amount of life insurance declined by companies excluding excessive drinking habits in applicants. More than 93,000 persons were rejected by companies last year for this reason.

TORONTO—The United Church of Canada at its annual conference composed of 1,140 lay and clerical delegates, adopted this resolution: "We are driven to the conclusion that the only thing that will solve our present social and economic problems will be the absolute Christian socialization of the means of production and distribution of all the necessities of life."

PITTSBURGH—A year ago, Pittsburgh faced a difficult juvenile delinquency problem among the children, mostly Negro, of the Hill district. A wise Director of Public Safety called on a young Negro detective to deal with the situation and Howard McKinney, a graduate of Pittsburgh University and former Y.M.C.A. secretary, has fully justified the director's confidence. Following the "Boys' Town" idea, 980 young Hilltown citizens elected a mayor, a district attorney, two judges, and a city council. These young officials have spent many hours in meetings of the Pittsburgh city council and the courts, and for three months have been functioning in their official capacities. Each Saturday, the Hill

City Court sits to consider cases referred to them by Pittsburgh officials, and justice is meted out with a remarkable display of fairness and common sense. Pittsburgh officials say their hats are off to Howard McKinney for through his leadership, petty crime and other delinquencies in the district have already been reduced 25 per cent.

WASHINGTON—Preliminary United States internal revenue reports, available Sept. 1, show a total liquor consumption for the fiscal year ending June 30, 1939, of 1,802,-313,392 gallons, a per capita consumption of 13.87. This figure is lower than the per capita of 1938 by somewhat less than a half gallon. These figures are based on tax paid withdrawals of legal liquor only and do not include bootleg and other types of illicit liquor.

NEW YORK—The first course in Religion and Labor Relationships to be given in the United States was conducted at Union Theological Seminary during the past summer, by Rev. A. J. Muste, director of Labor Temple, New York. Mr. Muste pointed out that for the first time in the history of the American labor movement there is a growing sympathetic attitude on the part of unions toward religious bodies and that labor organizations are looking more and more toward churches for guidance.

CHICAGO—Prospective students of Illinois State Normal University learn from the catalog that the institution "does not hesitate to express itself on the matter of admitting or continuing students who use intoxicating liquors." In explaining the attitude of the university, this statement is made: "Illinois State Normal University very emphatically states that the use of intoxicants on or off the campus will not be permitted and the deviation from this regulation calls for severance of connections with the school. Because the institution feels justified in the interests of its

reputation and that of its students and graduates in having such a regulation, it is hoped that persons who cannot live within both the letter and spirit of this procedure will not apply for admission to the university."

PHILADELPHIA—The move by building trade unions affiliated with the AFL to abolish jurisdictional disputes among themselves strikes at one of the greatest evils in American industrial life. These disputes have always been most rife in the building industry because of the numerous trades of which it is composed, with their not clearly marked or overlapping functions. It has now been agreed that when such an issue arises the union in possession at the time shall continue at work until a definitive ruling is made by an impartial authority. The keeping of this agreement should go a long way toward bringing peace to one of the most troubled industries.

CHICAGO—The report of the American Youth Commission prepared by Dr. Newton Edwards of the University of Chicago presents an analysis of the opportunities for schooling available to American youth, showing state and regional variations arising from uneven geographic distribution of children and of taxable resources.

The situation disclosed by Dr. Edwards' study is serious and its implications clear. The essential facts are: 15 of the 48 states now provide an education for their children costing less than \$60 per pupil per year. The present range is from \$24 in Arkansas, with its large child population, to \$134 in New York, with its higher than average taxable wealth.

The country's rural areas as a whole, the report reveals, carry a heavy educational burden. The extreme of inequality is found among the farmers of the Southeast, who have to educate 13 per cent of the nation's children with two per cent of the nation's income. At the other end of

the scale, the non-farm population of New York state receives a share of the national income over twice as large as the proportion of the nation's children it has to educate.

News from Abroad

LONDON—Three tribunals have already met in England to hear the applications for exemption from military service. Christian pacifists feel that in the main, Mr. Leyton Richards speaks with authority when he says: "Compared with the tribunals of 1916 those of 1939 are models of fairness, and if the prevailing atmosphere is maintained it will be a credit to all concerned."

EDINBURGH—In spite of the international crisis, indeed largely because of it, a silent revolution has been going on in Scotland and far-reaching changes for the better are taking place. "Holidays with pay" has in its first season effected a marked change in social habits. Many workmen and their families have for the first time been able to have a real holiday in the country or at the seaside. John Brown & Co., the builders of the Queen Mary and the Queen Elizabeth paid out on the eve of the Glasgow fair \$500,000 as holiday pay bonus. The rumblings of war did not disturb the happy folk on holiday.

ANTWERP, BELGIUM—The possibility of relaxation of the anti-Jewish laws in Germany is seen in notices posted at the German Consulate inviting doctors, engineers and technicians "of German nationality regardless of race" to return immediately to the Reich. The posters promised that returning refugees would be completely repatriated and that their confiscated fortunes would be returned. No Jews have accepted the offer to date, officials said. Thousands of other Germans

of military age remain here and in other Belgian cities.

BERLIN—Only five of Germany's 20 universities, Berlin, Leipzig, Jena, Munich, and Vienna, will conduct classes during the winter semester, it has been announced. The other 15 including Heidelberg, Bonn, Freiburg, and Goettingen, will remain closed indefinitely. The five were deemed sufficient to handle the number of students during wartime.

AMSTERDAM, HOLLAND—The World Conference of Christian Youth remarkable because held in spite of war threats and because its 1,338 official delegates from 65 countries made it probably the most representative youth gathering ever held, issued an outspoken statement of some of their Christian convictions. They united in acknowledging loyalty to God as above any earthly authority; emphasized their oneness in Christ despite dividing lines of race, nation, and communion; voiced their desire for a united Christian church; and pledged their efforts for peace and for justice in all international and social relationships. Of the 1,338 delegates to the conference, 325 were from the United States, 500 from Europe, 115 from Asia.

MEXICO CITY—The attitude assumed by Lombardo Toledano, secretary general of the Mexican Confederation of Workers, for Mexico's intervention in the European war on the side of the democracies has caused a strong reaction in all neutralist quarters. A majority of the newspapers, both editorially and in their news columns, uphold the principle that Mexico must remain neutral and attack the leaders of organized labor for attempting to drag Mexico into a quarrel that they consider none of her business. It cannot be doubted that public opinion at the present moment is greatly in favor of neutrality.

Quotes

I beseech you by the mercies of God that you remember that you may be mistaken.
—*John Wesley*.

God offers to every mind its choice between truth and repose. Take which you please; you can never have both.—*Ralph Waldo Emerson*.

To educate a man in mind and not in morals and spiritual values is to educate a menace to society.—*Theodore Roosevelt*.

We are firm believers in the maxim that for all right judgment of any man or thing it is useful, nay, essential, to see his good qualities before pronouncing on his bad.—*Thomas Carlyle*.

Every man and woman should realize his or her responsibility for the government of the country. Most of them can only do it by a wise choice of a member to represent them.—*Lord Baldwin*.

We want to get rid of the militarist not simply because he hurts and kills, but because he is an intolerable thick-voiced blockhead who stands hectoring and blustering in our way of achievement.—*H. G. Wells*, "The Outline of History."

Is the Christian faith strong enough in this country to pay for its own maintenance? If American churchmen fail to support the kind of colleges that turn out Christian leaders, American life under another leadership will close the churches.—*William Allen White*.

There is no hope for the world apart from the advancement of the Kingdom of God. There is no hope for the advancement of the Kingdom apart from a growing and leavening Christian community. There is no hope for the church apart

from a trained and efficient leadership and a loyal and effective fellowship.—*Dr. Edward P. Westphal, Presbyterian Board of Christian Education*.

Alcoholic liquor is responsible for between 30 and 35 per cent of all the cases that come into the Boys Court. Under its influence, boys will commit almost any crime and will steal more money to buy more liquor. While we have plenty of laws on our statute books which prohibit the sale of intoxicating liquor to minors, they are, as one may imagine, very difficult to enforce. To really do something about this feature of the problem, we must look to those agencies which are charged with the responsibility of character formation in our growing young people—the home, the school and the church.—*Judge J. M. Braude, Chicago Boys Court*.

The gospel brings to men and women a fellowship that is greatly needed in the world today, a fellowship of understanding, a fellowship of the heart and a fellowship of character. It is in these that we see God. We find God most not in books or even in the gospel, but in men and women who are doing his work in the world, facing life and death with courage in the light and the power of the gospel whose message is joy. We need this fellowship today when many people have lost their spiritual vision along the dusty road of the world, amid the false material standards of success. We need to stand in the revealing light of the gospel and have all selfishness and material standards washed away so that we can go out with new understanding, new heart, and new eagerness to do our part in the world's work.—*Dr. Walter Russell Bowie, New York City*.

Book Reviews

All in the Day's Work, An Autobiography, by Ida M. Tarbell. Macmillan, New York. 1939. \$3.50.

Among the great number of biographies which appeared during the spring and summer, none is more interesting than this story of an American woman who has for more than fifty years occupied an important place in the field of journalism. The name of Ida Tarbell is most frequently associated with her unsparingly critical history of the Standard Oil Company. Through membership on the staff of *McClure's Magazine*, she was associated with such brilliant journalists as Lincoln Steffens, Ray Stannard Baker, and others, in their study and exposure of corruption in business and government. To this group, Theodore Roosevelt, by a confusion of figures of speech as Miss Tarbell points out, applied the epithet, "Muckrakers." But this term in its unpleasant sense was never accurately descriptive of her.

There is little personal history in this delightful and well written book, for Miss Tarbell with her unfailing modesty gives first place to her work and the developments in national life of which she wrote. But in spite of this, indeed because of her detachment, the reader gets a clearer uninterrupted view of this remarkable woman. From girlhood she has been possessed by a passion for facts and their meaning and of a sincerity and unflinching honesty in their presentation, stimulating and challenging to those who face and attempt to understand the complexities of our modern life.—E. G. R.

Free Men, by Lynn Harold Hough. Abingdon Press, New York. \$2.00.

In this third volume of Forrest Essays, Dr. Hough applies the principles of evangelical humanism to the problems of

thought and action of our day. The discussions of "great stabilities" begin with an essay, "Free Men," in which the author summarizes his discussion of freedom, thus: "Our conception of free personality finds its constantly enlarging meaning in the personality of God. It is a free God who creates and sustains the life of the free man. . . . We express our freedom in the world where we dwell. We find the source of our freedom in the free God who created us to be free men."

"The Christian double-edged assertion of man's freedom and of man's responsibility" says one reviewer, "is applied in these essays with keen intelligence, vivid phrasing, and passionate conviction to the major problem of our time, the conflict between 'the society of men's bodies' that would make men well-fed and well-housed cattle and 'the society of men's minds' in which it is possible for cultural ideals and noble character to grow together."

With the concluding essay, "Aldersgate Once More," the "consistent corpus

Best Sellers

Fiction

Grapes of Wrath, by John Steinbeck, Viking Press.

Black Narcissus, by Rumer Godden, Little, Brown & Co.

Children of God, by Vardis Fisher, Harper.

Next to Valour, by John Jennings, Macmillan.

The Web and the Rock, by Thomas Wolfe, Harper.

General

Inside Asia, by John Gunther, Harper.

Country Lawyer, by Bellamy Partidge, Whittlesey House.

Not Peace But a Sword, by Vincent Sheean, Doubleday, Doran.

Days of Our Years, by Pierre van Paassen, Hillman-Curl.

Let the Record Speak, by Dorothy Thompson (Houghton Mifflin).

(*A consensus of opinion—not a guarantee nor a recommendation.*)

of thought" which welds the series into a unity, reaches its climax in this: "It is quite extraordinary how you find that statesmen and scholars, poets and artists, men of every type, men who have done things on all possible levels of thought and interest, have done them with a new quality of power because their lives have been made over by the grace of God in Jesus Christ."—E. G. R.

A Guide to Understanding the Bible, by Harry Emerson Fosdick. Harper & Brothers, New York, 1939. \$3.00.

In this important book, the writer traces the development of six ideas basic to religion: the ideas of God, man, right and wrong, suffering, fellowship with God, and immortality. Dr. Fosdick traces these great ideas through more than a thousand years of Jewish-Christian history, showing them to have been hammered out through generation after generation of human experience; an experience which still carries on and in which all men may have a part. Unlike his other books, this is not popularly written, nor does it attempt to preach or persuade. It is a historical study of ideas to which the writer brings adequate resources of historical scholarship, spiritual insight, and literary skill.—E. G. R.

And Ye Visited Me, by Russell L. Dicks. Harpers, New York. \$2.50.

What does the average Protestant minister hope to accomplish when he visits the sick? How should he direct the conversation in an attempt to accomplish that varied objective? The author, chaplain at the Presbyterian Hospital in Chicago, suggests answers to these questions in a series of case studies. He quotes, mostly verbatim, the conversations which took place between ministers and patients throughout an extended series of visits and in parallel columns comments on the minister's questions and conversational

leads, and offers pointed criticism and suggestion of alternative approaches that might have been more effective. The ministers whose visits are thus analyzed vary in their skill and training and reveal the common mistakes of the average pastor, as well as some of the skills developed through training and conference.

The material of the book is selected with reference to the mental and spiritual worries which burden the sick. Typical of the patients and their problems are an elderly woman who cannot find God, a machinist who rebels against being incapacitated, a business man who is anxious to die, a woman burdened with a sense of unforgiven sin, a school teacher who attempts to commit suicide, a clerk who suffers from acute fear, et cetera. The book contains both warning and suggestion that should prove of value to ministers who seek to strengthen their pastoral work in the sick room.—W. W. McK.

Next to Valour, by John Jennings. Macmillan, New York. 1939. \$2.75.

Well towards the top of the best seller lists one finds this tale of the northwest frontier of the 1750's. Those who enjoy historical novels, and who does not, will find this the perfect vehicle of escape from the more trying and pressing problems of today. The story is told by the hero, Jamie Ferguson. After the death of his father in the rout of Culloden in 1745, Jamie with his mother and sisters comes to America. They land at Boston, go overland to Portsmouth where Jamie meets and falls in love with his future wife, and then push inland to the new settlement of Suncook where they are to make their home with his mother's brother. Unused to country life he shows no aptitude for farming but Toby, the Indian scout, sees in him the makings of a woodsman and his destiny is sealed. When hostilities begin between the French, with their Indian allies, and the British, he

enlists with the famous Rogers' Rangers and throughout that conflict gives a good account of himself.

The story is remarkable for the wealth of vivid detail which gives one a feeling of actually having participated in the thrilling experiences. Among the characters are all those needful to a thoroughly satisfying yarn—Jamie, the faithful hero, Dorcas, his conscienceless wife and her father, Lawyer Drew, Jamie's suave cousin Hubert with his mocking smile, the villainous Sanborn—Hubert's tool, and Indian Toby, Jamie's faithful friend, and a host of others—not one is missing. This is a thrilling tale which holds one's interest from cover to cover, and suggests to the lover of adventure a winter evening before the fire.—E. G. R.

Seven Lean Years, by T. J. Woofter, Jr., and Ellen Winston. The University of North Carolina Press, Chapel Hill, N. C., 1939. \$1.50.

The authors have presented a thoughtful and convincing analysis of the plight of destitute people in rural areas. Whatever one thinks of proposed plans by government for the solution of the farm problem, one is bound to agree that "the positive efforts of the federal government to meet the emergency undermined the previous policy of leaving the fate of rural people to individual and local initiative." The book is unanswerable in its contention that one cannot dismiss the underprivileged rural groups as weaklings—"a permanently submerged class which will continue to be a burden to relief agencies." Among the hopeful plans that are dispassionately discussed are federal rehabilitation loans, crop control, reorganization of the system of distribution whereby the poor and undernourished may secure the essentials of a balanced diet at low cost, cooperative farms, price control, better plans for land use, the control of erosion, the development of rural in-

dustry, changes in the terms of farm leases for the advantage of tenants, and federal aid for housing, education and health.—C. J. T.

The Trail of the Totalitarian, by Delber H. Elliott, William B. Eerdmans Publishing Co., Grand Rapids, Mich., 1939. \$1.00.

The thesis of this book is that modern totalitarianism roots back into the past and its old name was tyranny. Dr. Elliott has told with a wealth of appropriate illustration the story of the totalitarian principle throughout history. He admits that religion had occasionally seized upon totalitarian power and holds that the principle is as dangerous when dispensed by the church as when it is exercised by the state. In contrast with totalitarianism, the author cites some of the memorable examples of Christians who stood up to answer the tyrant, "We ought to obey God rather than man."

Dr. Elliott pays tribute to the early pioneers of America and then declares that America is at the crossroads today. The right choice will not be the union of a totalitarian church with a totalitarian state, even though the church be Protestant. The perfect coalition in society is a partnership between church and state, each bearing its share of responsibility in the enterprise of building the Kingdom of God on earth.—C. J. T.

Your Community, by Joanna C. Concord. The Russell Sage Foundation, New York, 1939. 85 cents.

Here is a book prepared not especially for the social worker but as a first-aid to the general public in the study and understanding of the community, its problems and its provisions for health, education, safety, and welfare. The method of the book is thoroughly sound and stimulating. It is first to propose questions, suggest the type of informa-

tion or data needed to answer them and indicate the sources or methods by which these may be secured. The purpose is to create and direct enthusiasm and interest in community service. Ministers and all leaders of groups in church and other organizations will find it an invaluable aid in their work.—E. G. R.

Democracy Works, by Arthur Garfield Hays, Random House, New York, 1939. \$3.00.

The writer is perhaps most widely known as the national director of the American Civil Liberties Union and has in this capacity and as a lawyer participated in many legal cases involving the civil rights of many groups,—radicals and conservatives alike. The book is dedicated by Mr. Hays "to my radical friends who regard me as a conservative and to my conservative friends who regard me as a radical, but chiefly to that increasing number of Americans who, like myself, are just liberals."

In this book Mr. Hays contends strongly for freedom as the indispensable requisite of true democratic government. "Often there is no greater tyranny than that exercised by majorities," he says and continues, "Without free speech, free assemblage, free press and secret choice, a ballot means nothing."

The writer faces frankly the failures as well as the achievements of American democracy; he compares our form of government and our way of life with those of the dictatorships and steadily maintains that the solutions of our problems are not to be found in the revolution of the extreme Left or the stand-patism of the extreme Right. He urges rather that the United States adhere to the framework and institutions of democracy and through

democratic processes build and modify and rebuild our present social structure until liberty and security shall be the possession of all its citizens.—E. G. R.

The United States and War, compiled by Julia E. Johnsen. The H. W. Wilson Company, New York. 1939. 90 cents.

This is the latest volume of the "Reference Shelf Series." Individual readers as well as study and discussion groups will find here a convenient means for the review of opinion from various points of view recently expressed with reference to the all-important question of America's relation to European conflict. Quoted materials and separate bibliographies are included on such issues as foreign policy, neutrality, national defense, the peril to religion, and others together with a summary of affirmative and negative arguments for purposes of discussion or debate.—E. G. R.

Books Received

The Art of Counseling, Rollo May. Cokesbury. \$2.

Christianity and the Creative Quests, Gaius Glenn Atkins. Cokesbury. \$2.

The Complete Bible (An American Translation with the Apocrypha), J. M. Powis Smith and Edgar J. Goodspeed. University of Chicago Press. \$3.

Men of Power, Vol. III, Fred Eastman. Cokesbury. \$1.50.

Religious Resources for Personal Living and Social Action, Kirby Page. Farrar & Rinehart. \$2.

Security, Can We Retrieve It? Sir Arthur Salter. Reynal & Hitchcock. \$3.50.

Revolutionary Christianity, Sherwood Eddy. Willett, Clark & Co. \$2.

Social Religion (RBC Selection), Douglas Clyde Macintosh. Scribners. \$3.

Which Way America? (The People's Library) Lyman Bryson. Macmillan. 60 cents.

Why Be Good? James Reid. Cokesbury. \$1.50.

Radio, Music, Drama

The return of many widely popular devotional features heard over NBC networks will herald in the Winter schedule of religious broadcasts beginning Sunday, Oct. 1. Weekday programs heard at 12:30 p.m. EST over the NBC-Red network include, "Religion and the New World" with Dr. Joseph Sizoo on Mondays; "Our Spiritual Life" with Dr. John Sutherland Bonnell on Tuesdays; "The Truth That Makes Men Free" with Dr. Francis C. Stifler, Wednesdays; "Timeless Truths Made Timely" with Dr. Christopher J. McCombe on Thursdays, and "Opportunity" with Dr. Daniel A. Poling, Fridays. On Saturdays, "The Call to Youth" will be conducted by Dr. Alfred Grant Walton at 12:30 p.m., and "Religion in the News" will be edited by Dr. Walter Van Kirk at 6:30 p.m. EST. On Sundays, two outstanding religious leaders return to the air, Dr. Ralph W. Sockman in the "Radio Pulpit," at 10:00 a.m., EST, over the NBC-Blue network, and Dr. Harry Emerson Fosdick in "National Vespers" at 4:00 p.m.

The CBS "Church of the Air" programs are broadcast at 10:00 a.m. and 1:00 p.m. EST over WABC-CBS.

NBC's Music Appreciation Hour conducted by Dr. Walter Damrosch resumes on Friday, Oct. 13, 2:00 to 3:00 p.m. EST for its twelfth season over the NBC-Blue network. The Sunday Evening Hour, Sundays, 9:00 to 10:00 p.m., WABC-CBS, presents the Detroit Symphony Orchestra and guest soloists. From 3:00 to 5:00 p.m. every Sunday afternoon, CBS presents the New York Philharmonic-Symphony Orchestra, from Carnegie Music Hall, New York.

Outstanding among war news programs

are NBC's presentation of John B. Kennedy, NBC commentator, noted writer and foreign correspondent, Mondays through Fridays over the NBC-Red network, at 7:15 p.m., and H. V. Kaltenborn, famous CBS news analyst heard Mondays, Wednesdays, and Fridays, over WABC-CBS at 6:30 p.m. EST.

Looking toward November and the observance of Armistice Day, the following peace plays are recommended: Marion Wefer's *Early American*, a distinguished play dealing with the manufacture of war bombs used in Spain and China, turns on the insistence of a young patriot that he has the right to agitate for peace. (Samuel French, 25 W. 45th Street, New York, 35 cents.) *Moonset*, by Helen M. Clark (French, 35 cents) gives a fascinating picture of a lost patrol who through their sufferings see war stripped of its false glory, and one has lost his faith in God. A Stranger, bearing ancient wounds, comes assuring them that there is still something in which men can believe, although the problem of war is one for men to solve.

Two Louis Wilson peace plays, *Sunrise* (Baker Company, 178 Tremont Street, Boston, 35 cents and royalty), *The Testing Hour* (Dramatic Publishing Co., Chicago, 35 cents and royalty); three peace plays published by the New World Dramatic Service, 5548 Kenwood Avenue, Chicago, *The Valiant Coward* (all women cast), *Peace in Demand*, and *Bells of Dunkirk*, are suggested.

Two pageants suggested are: *America on Trial*, by Fred Eastman, (French, 35 cents plus royalty) and *The Summoning of the Nations*, by Elizabeth Woodbridge Morris (French, 35 cents).

Current Films

These estimates of current films are offered in response to the action of the General Assembly, 1932, requesting such a previewing service to be made available from the Department of Social Education and Action. The following evaluations are based on reports of the West and East Coast Preview Committees, cooperating with the General Federation of Women's Clubs.

Beau Geste (Paramount) (Gary Cooper, Ray Milland, Robert Preston, Brian Donlevy, Susan Hayward) An absorbing, dramatic version of the once popular silent film, "Beau Geste." Gary Cooper, Ray Milland and Robert Preston portray the three devoted, gallant brothers who stand by each other even unto death. The music scoring by Alfred Newman was well done. **Adults.**

Career (RKO Radio) (Anne Shirley, Edward Ellis, Samuel S. Hinds, Janet Beecher) The recent winners of the "Gateway to Hollywood" contest are given a fine chance in an appealing story of a small town in the Iowa corn belt and of its "depression" experiences. A wholesome and constructive Americanism pervades. **Family.**

Golden Boy (Columbia) (Barbara Stanwyck, Adolphe Menjou, William Holden) A skilfully written, directed and acted photoplay. William Holden and Lee Cobb win enthusiastic plaudits as the Bonapartes in this drama of a music-loving youth who crushes his craving for lyrical beauty in a mad desire to grasp power and wealth as a champion fighter, then finds his success a bitter disillusionment. Constructive. **Adults.**

The Sun Never Sets (Universal) (Douglas Fairbanks, Jr., Basil Rathbone, Virginia Field, Lionel Atwill) An involved, artificial story of the unselfish devotion of an English family in consular service, emphasizing that traditional British zeal which safeguards farflung Empire possessions. **Adults.**

They Shall Have Music (Samuel Goldwyn-United Artists) (Jascha Heifetz, Andrea Leeds, Joel McCrea, Gene Reynolds, Walter Brennan) This rare treat in cinema entertainment is also a special treat for the devotee of fine music, highlighted by the ingratiating personality and brilliant genius of Jascha Heifetz. It is a human interest story of children and music, beautifully acted, and directed with dignity, discretion and artistry. **Family.**

Disputed Passage (Paramount) (Dorothy Lamour, Akim Tamiroff, John Howard) Another film from a Lloyd Douglas novel, this time with a medical school setting. The hero is a talented young student, afterwards a successful surgeon, and the problem is whether or not he shall sacrifice his prestige to marry a Chinese girl. **Adults.**

Good Neighbors (20th Century-Fox) An interesting trip through some of the South American countries with comments on their goodwill policies. **Family.**

Intermezzo (United Artists) (Leslie Howard, Edna Best, Ingrid Bergman, John Halliday, Ann Todd) A picture which is noteworthy for its excellent cast headed by Leslie Howard and featuring the American debut of Broken Ingrid Bergman, new Swedish film star. **Adults.**

The Real Glory (Goldwyn-United Artists) (Gary Cooper, David Niven, Andrea Leeds, Broderick Crawford, Reginald Owen) A stirring adventure film dating from the year 1906 and dealing with the organization of the Philippine Constabulary. **Adults and young people.**

When Tomorrow Comes (Universal) (Irene Dunne, Charles Boyer, Onslow Stevens, Barbara O'Neil) A beautiful, poignant romance, filled with suspense and surprises. The dialogue is good, the action smooth and the situations intriguing. There is no compromise happy ending, the situation being soundly and logically handled. **Adults.**

Second Fiddle (20th Century-Fox) (Sonja Henie, Tyrone Power, Rudy Vallee, Edna May Oliver) Enhanced by the quaint charm and graceful skating of Sonja Henie and excellent performances of Tyrone Power and Edna May Oliver, "Second Fiddle" is a lively, amusing satire poking fun at the recently-climaxed search for a Scarlet O'Hara in "Gone With the Wind." **Family.**

Reference Materials

✓ Check Your Program—for Social Education and Action

There Is Liberty. A new worship service has been prepared for use in church services and by other groups on October 29, World Temperance Sunday, or on any other similar occasion. *\$1.00 a hundred.*

America's Liquor Bill—1939. This is the latest in the series of *Social Progress Leaflets*. It contains the Government Revenue figures on liquor consumption and the cost of the traffic to the American people. This should be very widely used for general distribution. Four other leaflets on the liquor problem are available. *50 cents a hundred.*

Liquor and Modern Life. This is one of the *Social Progress Guides* to study and discussion. It is designed to stimulate intelligent inquiry, unprejudiced discussion and appropriate action among men, women, and mature young people. Outlines for four discussion periods are provided including worship suggestions, discussion outlines, source materials, and problems for further investigation and appropriate action. At least one group in each church should attack this issue. *25 cents.*

The Local Church and the Liquor Problem. Procedure and program of temperance education. *10 cents.*

"Not by Might." A new service for use in church worship or by other groups on Armistice Sunday or any other occasion during these troubled days. Any project in the interest of peace should be preceded by worship and carried through in a spirit of seeking God's guidance and doing his will. Ready October 20, 1939. *\$1.00 a hundred.*

America—What Now? A summary of the arguments for and against American action in international affairs along eight possible courses. Suggestions for study as well as action are given. *10 cents.*

Peace in These Times. A guide to the discussion of the causes of war and the prerequisites for peace. Plans for four discussions. Source material may be supplemented with "America—What Now?" described above, and "The United States and War" reviewed on page 26. *25 cents.* (Other pamphlet material will be found in the September issue.)

Can We Abolish War? and Our Martial Mythology. Two of the series of Social Progress Leaflets prepared for general distribution at church services or other peace meetings, or for use as source material in discussion. *2 cents each, 50 cents a hundred.*

A Prayer Service. The Provisional Committee of the World Council of Churches has published "A Form of Prayer" prepared by the Archbishop of York, and intended for use by Christian people in all countries during times of wars and rumors of wars. The service is beautifully prepared and may appropriately be used in the worship service of the church. *5 cents per copy or \$1.00 a hundred.* *Federal Council of Churches, 297 Fourth Avenue, New York, N. Y.*

Christian Education Materials

Plans for Christian Home Month and Christian Home Sunday. A folder of suggestions for October, Christian Home Month, and October 15, Christian Home Sunday, gives methods of emphasizing the Christian home, lists texts and leaflets available for leaders and parents and offers topics for discussion and study. *Free, Parent Education and Family Religion, 1125 Witherspoon Bldg., Philadelphia, Pa.*

Worship Service for Christian Home Sunday. In keeping with the theme, "The Christian Home, A Sacramental Fellowship," Ione V. Sikes has prepared a service of dignity and beauty. *25 cents a hundred.*

Can My Home Be Christian? Treating the question with originality and understanding, the leaflet throws the problems and difficulties of maintaining a Christian home into relief, and points the way to their solution. Ideal for general distribution on Christian Home Sunday. *2 cents each, 50 cents a hundred.*

These materials, except as otherwise noted, may be ordered from any Presbyterian Book Store: Philadelphia, Witherspoon Building; New York, 156 Fifth Avenue; Pittsburgh, Granite Building; Chicago, 8 South Dearborn Street; Los Angeles, 311 South Spring Street.

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S.E.A. Bulletin

The Present Situation—Never has there been a greater need for active, clear thinking S. E. A. committees than in this present tragic moment in history. You and your committees face a great opportunity and responsibility to urge thorough discussion of the problems created by the war and wisely considered action in our relation to them as a nation and as individual Christian citizens. A second responsibility is that of keeping alive the concern of the church for the social need of men, women, and children in all parts of our country and the conservation of the social goods thus far attained which so readily become the casualties of a war period.

We in the Department of Social Education and Action are anxious to help chairmen and committees in every possible way. Dr. Buttrick's message outlined on page 16 and the six point peace action program of the National Peace Conference on the following page will be helpful in planning your committee emphasis for the next few months. Christian Home Sunday and World Temperance Sunday in October, and Armistice Sunday in November offer opportunities to focus attention and initiate activity. Use articles in this issue and materials described on page 29 and be sure to send us accounts of your programs and activities.

Latest Reports—There are now S. E. A. committees in 34 of the 42 synods and in 194 of the 276 presbyteries. Forty-seven presbyterial committees have been appointed also and about 100 local church committees on which both men and women are active. This is an encouraging record, but it could be better!

We Need Your Help—Our budget for SOCIAL PROGRESS does not permit any expensive campaign for subscriptions; therefore we greatly need the assistance of our

chairmen and pastors. Last May we asked each chairman to send us the names of pastors in his presbytery who might be willing to promote SOCIAL PROGRESS and secure subscriptions in their churches. A number responded but not as many as we hoped would do so. Now that the fall work has begun, will you not without delay put this at the top of your list and send us names of pastors or others who will undertake this work for SOCIAL PROGRESS? We can then make direct contacts and get our subscription campaign started. We ought to have several thousand subscribers at 50 cents a year. Your cooperation will be appreciated.

Local Church Chairmen of S. E. A.—

One presbytery committee made a beginning by getting a chairman of Social Education and Action appointed in every church and organizing these chairmen into a presbytery "expanded" committee. A packet of Social Progress book lists was mailed to each pastor with the compliments of the committee and a letter from the chairman requesting that the session appoint a man or woman of the church who is actively interested in the application of Christian principles to the social problems of the day to membership in presbytery's "expanded" committee on Social Education and Action. It was explained that this group was not to act officially for presbytery but was to engage in conference type programs and that each member was to serve as a key person in his own church on matters pertaining to the general subject. In some cases where appointments were delayed follow-up letters or even personal requests were made until the list was complete. The first conference of this representative group was based on the department questionnaire "The Church and the World Today." Each church representative is invited to

bring a guest with him to the conference meetings. The next step of course will be to get a full committee organized and at work in each church.

Employment Service—The Social Education and Action Committee of the presbytery of New York reports that to date its Employment Service has made 221 placements—155 of which are permanent, 47 temporary, and 19 casual. The total annual salary received by placed workers amounts to approximately \$120,000. A total of 700 unemployed Presbyterians have filed applications for work since the service began to operate July 15, 1938. The idea for the service originated with a minister who helped men and boys of his parish to secure positions. When the Social Education and Action Committee adopted the plan, arrangements were made for the presbytery to place its own employment secretary on the staff of the local Y.M.C.A. with responsibility for handling Presbyterian applicants, and with access to the job opportunities which come through the Y. One problem encountered was that of making adequate employer contacts among Presbyterian employers of labor. Letters were sent to trustees of Presbyterian churches telling them of the work and asking them to co-operate. Emphasis is placed on vocational guidance as well as on placement, since helping young people to find themselves is felt to be of great importance. Counsel is given to all races. Particularly does the committee stress helping the Negro—"the last to be hired, the first to be fired."

Temperance Education—One of the most valuable fact-finding and reporting services in the temperance field is Allied Youth, Inc., Washington, D. C., which furnishes through its "Alcoholfax," a monthly news service of important developments in temperance education and action. Write the executive secretary of Allied Youth, W. Roy Breg, National Education Association Building, Washington, D. C., for a sample copy.

Calendar of Events

- Sept. 30-Oct. 1—National Loyalty Days.
- Oct. 1—World Wide Communion Sunday.
- Oct. 8—Loyalty Sunday.
- Oct. 14—March 8—University Christian Missions at 16 Universities.
- Oct. 15—Christian Home Sunday.
- Oct. 27-29—National Council, Y.M.C.A., Detroit, Mich.
- Oct. 29—Reformation Day Sunday.
- Oct. 29—Temperance Sunday.
- Nov. 5 or 12—Armistice Day Sunday.
- Nov. 5-11—American Education Week.
- Nov. 10-13—International Goodwill Congress, Milwaukee, Wis.
- Nov. 11—Armistice Day.
- Nov. 19—Men and Missions Sunday.
- Nov. 19—Stewardship Enrollment Sunday.
- Nov. 19 or 26—Thanksgiving Sunday.
- Nov. 23 or 30—Thanksgiving Day.
- Nov. 26—Stewardship Enrollment Sunday.
- Dec. 10—Universal Bible Sunday.
- Dec. 24—Christmas Sunday.
- Dec. 25—Christmas Day.
- Dec. 31—New Year's Eve (Sunday).
- Jan. 1-7—Week of Prayer.
- Jan. 14—Interdenominational Home Missions Sunday.
- Jan. 28—Presbyterian Young People's Day.

Any books mentioned in this issue of SOCIAL PROGRESS may be ordered from any Presbyterian Book Store.



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THE CHRISTIAN HOME

October is *Christian Home Month*, and materials for its observation are available in Presbyterian Book Stores. Ask for the free leaflet, "Plans for Christian Home Month and Christian Home Sunday." It lists "The Christian Home Worship Service" (25 cents a hundred) and the booklet "Can My Home Be Christian?" (2 cents a copy; 50 cents a hundred).

For reading, "*The Home Beautiful*" by J. R. Miller presents a comprehensive picture of the Christian home life. (\$1.50.)

Address your nearest:

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